

# PEACE NEWS

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## WHY NOT A BRITISH PEACE MOVE?

### *Don't Leave the Initiative With the Dictators*

By the Editor of "Peace News"

ONCE again "the enemy" has been "accused" this week of attempting to make peace. What a detestable thing for anybody to do! That, at least, is the comment that seems to have been implied—and very nearly made!—in many of the press reports in this country of German diplomatic activity.

With so many ordinary people in this country, and, I believe, in other belligerent countries, and so many neutral peoples everywhere "sick and tired of this war," to quote an American commentator, it is a humiliating thing to find one's country apparently insisting on going on with the war in the full knowledge that it is only a matter of time before it becomes much more disastrous than it has so far been.

The point, of course (to be fair to those who are putting our country in that unhappy position), is that the alternatives are seen as being on the one hand to accept "Hitler's terms," with the fear of being at the mercy of German aggression later, and, on the other, to continue to resist, meaning that however much they may—and do—regret it, war is the only means of resisting.

Fortunately, the tendency to dismiss as "offensive" the earlier peace moves of the dictators has somewhat given way, as we go to Press, to a more cautious attitude to the actual proposals reported to have been suggested as a basis of peace talks. As a basis, and therefore presumably subject to the adjustments that usually come out of conference, the proposals are certainly reasonable enough to call for careful consideration. In any case no harm could be done by agreeing to discuss them, especially under a neutral "Chairman."

To those who are convinced of the utter futility and wrongness of war as such, however, even the grim alternatives which I have described above, and which some may feel are still before us in the "eleven peace points," present no difficulty, though they must cause a varying degree of agony.

In fact, they must be causing more difficulty, in spite of brave words, to those who, while not rejecting war, know as well as any pacifist what it means. For though they have so far chosen war they still hesitate before the demands of the bolder (and less responsible) people who urge the immediate taking of the logical steps that will open the floodgates to the worst forms of warfare.

BUT why must it be assumed that the only alternative to continuing the war is to accept "Hitler's terms"?

Why must we be forever lookers-on at what "the enemy" is doing, or not doing, or threatening to do? Why do we always have to wait on Hitler, listening to see whether we approve or disapprove of what he says, watching impatiently to see whether his move here or there calls for condemnation or something less?

The editor of the French paper *Ordre* has suggested "an inter-Allied committee which would immediately set about drawing up the terms of a victorious peace," which "would give fresh confidence to the neutrals." But all the evidence shows that the immediate drawing up of the terms of a just peace by the Allies would give the neutrals much greater confidence and win their support.

Democracy is surely not so bankrupt of ideas and leadership that the only thing we can think of to better intriguing diplomacy (if we believe Hitler's efforts to be such) is to go on with the war to the bitter end. There is such a thing as real peacemaking diplomacy, and it is the one thing that can hope to defeat intriguing diplomacy without putting worse things in its place.

But if intriguing diplomacy implies greed and bullying, peacemaking diplomacy must involve generosity and a readiness *freely* to give up something if necessary. As Mr. Gandhi wrote in a recent issue of *Harijan*, referring to Mr. Chamberlain's claim that the Allies desire "a social, human, just, Christian settlement."

"Is 'a social, human, just, Christian settlement' compatible with the existence and defence of the Empire and the exploitation that it necessarily means? So long as imperialism lasts, it must excite the jealousy of the other Powers. If imperialism was really given up, there would be no incentive to war on either side."

THAT choice between peace and empire, I believe, lies somewhere near the heart of the problem that the present uneasy state of affairs presents to our statesmen. The first step may have to be an apparent, or even an actual, compromise in Europe, for the sake of stopping the actual hostilities.

But what must follow, especially if the first step in such as inevitably to tempt the worse elements in Germany to take advantage of apparent weakness, is a continuous and determined keeping of the initiative by the peacemakers that will prove their strength.

If it is true, as I believe it is, that Hitlerism succeeds not so much because of any moral foundation as because it is both quick and clever with opportunist thrusts that leave its opponents standing, the one

(Continued on back page.)

### Germans Must Not Be Given Credit for Humanity

#### "PURE HUMBUG," says Mr. McGovern

QUESTIONS asked in the House of Commons on March 13 revealed the censoring of a newspaper article in which a humane action by German airmen was described. We are not, of course, permitted to give the details.

Mr. JOHN MCGOVERN (Glasgow, Shettleston, I.L.P.) asked the Secretary of State for Air if he could state the reason for refusing permission to the Press to disclose the full story of the rescue of Squadron Leader Farquhar at Berwick, when he brought down his third aeroplane; why the German airmen had not been allowed to receive public credit for this humane act; and if he would see that in future brave as well as brutal acts of Germans were published.

Sir KINGSLEY WOOD replied that the details released to the Press on the occasion to which Mr. McGovern referred were limited only by security considerations.

Mr. MCGOVERN asked if Sir K. Wood could say why the fact that two German airmen rescued this British officer was not published, and why the *Daily Mail* of February 23, having published the story in its first edition, was finally compelled to delete it. Was it in the interests of this country that we should refuse to acknowledge brave acts carried out by Germans when we were condemning brutal acts? Surely there was nothing to be gained by the suppression of this humane act?

Sir K. WOOD.—Certainly not on general grounds, but in this case the security question was involved.

Mr. MCGOVERN asked whether, as the place, the types of machines, and everything connected with it were stated in the Press, the right hon. gentleman could tell the House what security reasons prevented the story from being told.

Sir K. WOOD said that he could not. As a matter of fact, there were other considerations.

Mr. MCGOVERN.—It is a shocking thing and pure humbug.

### Arrest Warning to C.O. Who Refused Medical Examination

A WARNING that he is liable to a fine of £5 and to arrest and detention has been received by a Manchester conscientious objector who disobeyed a summons to appear for medical examination, after being placed on the Military Service Register for non-combatant duties.

He has replied to the authorities making it clear that on conscientious grounds he still declines to accept orders to attend a medical examination.

The objector, Mr. C. B. A. McCusker, a student in Manchester University, appealed against the decision of the local tribunal, but his appeal was dismissed. He received notice to appear before medical examiners on February 27, but on February 25 notified the authorities that he would not comply.

Now he has received a letter (dated February 28) from the Military Section of the Ministry of Labour in Manchester, inviting him "to say whether . . . you still decline to comply with directions given to you," and pointing out that "a person who fails to comply with a notice requiring his attendance before a Medical Board is liable, on summary conviction, to a fine of £5, and the Court may make such orders (including orders for his arrest and deten-

tion) as may be necessary to secure compliance."

This is believed to be the first case in the North-Western Division in which such a renewed request and implied threat has been made.

### I.L.P. to Fight Renfrew

THE Scottish ILP will contest the forthcoming East Renfrew by-election, reports the *New Leader*.

Four names are being submitted by the Scottish Division to the National Council of the Party. The ILP National Council will reach a decision today.

Anti-war feeling is strong in the constituency. The prospective Labour and Co-op. candidate, Miss Helib Low, takes the anti-war line, but Transport House will not allow a contest.

The Scottish Nationalists had adopted Oliver Brown, also anti-war, as prospective candidate for the general election, but he has recently joined the Labour Party.

The ILP is strong in East Renfrew. There is the likelihood of a record anti-war vote.

### How the Press Attacks Are Inspired?

The Editor.  
CONFIDENTIAL  
Dear Mr. —  
I am writing this letter to invite your special co-operation in an effort to counteract the activities of the Peace Pledge Union and other bodies putting forth organized pacifist propaganda.  
Let me, however, state one point absolutely clear at the outset. There is no suggestion whatever of departing from the principle of allowing complete freedom of genuine conscience. What I want to attack is interference with that same conscientious freedom, as practised by the organizations to which I have referred. Thoughts are being deliberately put into young men's minds: they are being practically invited to evade what most people regard as an obligation of "to abide what most people regard as an obligation of . . ."

Two excerpts reproduced from a remarkable document issued by a Regional Information Officer of the Ministry of Information to the editor of a local newspaper in which suggestions are made for discrediting the Peace Pledge Union and pacifist propaganda.

See page 5

STOP PRESS



## THEREFORE . . . By Wilfred Wellock

### SHORT CUTS TO PEACE

MY case against Dr. Joad's advocacy of Federal Union is that he is trying to get peace on the cheap, on a sort of easy-payment system. In my opinion the attempt will fail, prove to be another broken reed, the deep tragedy of which will be that in these momentous days when great destinies are being determined, the mind of our age will be taken off the really vital issues, the evils, the false social aims which are the real stumbling-blocks to peace.

Dr. Joad's citation of the American Union proves my contention that his advocacy of Federal Union completely ignores the major evils of our time, and that he is vainly trying to short-circuit the line of advance to world peace and world freedom.

The American Union took place at the end of the eighteenth century, before the big vested interests and monopolies, the complex financial and economic system of the capitalist-imperialist age had taken root. The machine age had scarcely been born. The earth's resources had not been discovered. Life was planned on simple lines; the human factor was pre-eminent in industry; exchange was mostly by barter. The fierce competition of the capitalist age, leading in a torrential crescendo to war, imperialism, monopoly, the class struggle and totalitarianism, was as yet unknown.

#### A Fallacy

To compare a union of States based on such simple relations as these with the powerful States of the modern world, built on the model of a small rich class exploiting the rest of the community, erecting powerful monopolies and empires with the aid of vast financial resources and gigantic military machines, is to give credence to a fallacy that is fraught with dire calamity. American monopolies and American imperialism were developed after and not before the Union was formed. Hence the example of the USA completely fails to support the case for an extension of Federal Union on the lines proposed by Dr. Joad and others. A Federal Union system founded on these conditions will be as futile as was the League of Nations in regard to the issues which are rocketing the

Powers into war and totalitarianism today. So long as society is based on human exploitation and class domination, neither the League of Nations, Federal Union, nor any other machinery will rid the world of war.

#### Change the Basis

I am just as certain that once you change the real basis of society, its human relationships, you will have solved all the problems which Federal Union seeks to solve—exploitation, war, mass unemployment, monopoly, totalitarianism. All these evils hang together, and all rest on a wrong conception of human nature and of human ends. Unless those ends be changed, and human values take precedence over merely material values, all our social problems, including that of war, will remain unsolved. Hence, as I stated in my previous article, in seeking to create a peaceful world we must be careful to start at the right place, and to put first things first.

Political phrases I find more and more nauseating. Dr. Joad thinks that Federal Union will get rid of war sooner than will socialism.

In reply I would say that I see no prospect of what I understand by peace except in the emergence of a socialism—a society—which rests on the recognition of the supreme value of human personality, and neither Hitler's Germany nor Stalin's Russia has convinced me that this recognition constitutes their basis.

Here stands revealed the basic problem which many British pacifists are trying to face and solve today. These are in search of the solid foundation of a peaceful world: they are sick to death of political shibboleths. I believe this to be the outstanding quest of the Peace Pledge Union today. It is certainly mine, and I know that many others are on it too.

There is a strong and growing desire to have done with the chasing of political hares. Our civilization is nearing its end; we haven't long to go before the collapse occurs, in which more than material things will perish. We must try to salvage all the freedom and true culture we possibly can, and do our utmost to create the economic and spiritual conditions necessary to the only world that can eventually survive before the avalanche arrives. From the inevitable wreckage let us save the best things.

Therefore I am for devoting the little time that is left to us to exposing by word and deed the real evils of our age and its vital needs. In so far as we succeed in that task Federal or World Union will come, but if we fail, no machinery, Federal Union or what, will save us.

## A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

### As Americans See Us :: Does Youth Want This War?

Edited by "Observer"

WHILE the world awaits the results of Mr. Sumner Welles' mission to Europe, it is enlightening to have an American view of its purpose.

In *Peace Action* (journal of the American National Council for the Prevention of War), Frederick J. Libby wrote recently: "The common prediction of a five-year war, which assumes an ultimate Allied victory, is probably not unduly pessimistic. But who can foretell what the state of Europe will be five years from now?"

"The common purpose of the belligerents is to lower the living standards of their enemies, to the starvation point if possible. If the effort succeeds on either side, revolution will be prevented only by a harsher dictatorship."

"Hatred is bound to increase with the war. To pretend that this is the way to a peace filled with sweetness and light is fanciful."

"Already the French are sharpening their knives for the carving up of Germany into ineffective pieces which, they hope, will never unite again. Britain's new War Minister, Oliver Stanley, struck a similar note in his first speech when he said that Britain's war aim is to strip from the German people forever 'under this regime or any other regime, the power to make war.' Since, presumably, it is assumed that Britain and France will retain this power, as they did after Versailles, the hopelessness of the 'peace' that would follow victory is all too clear."

"There is only one conclusion possible from this situation. It is that a better peace can be made now than could be made after victory for the Allies. That a better peace would follow a victory for Hitler, no-one would maintain. What we all want is a just and lasting peace. The object of these exploratory moves is to find out if such a peace is possible now through neutral mediation."

#### "Healthy Realism"

MR. LIBBY'S words provide the answer to the extravagances of Sir Eric Phipps, former British Ambassador in Berlin, who on March 5 called for "healthy realism" after victory, and added:

"There is too much talk about all the nice kind things we mean to do to the dear Germans after we have helped to rid them of their Nazi tyrants."

"In other words, must we periodically fight the 'bad' Germans and then, after defeating them at terrible cost, help their 'good' brethren, soon after the signature of peace, to become strong enough and 'bad' enough to resume their interrupted cycle of aggression?"

I prefer the healthy realism shown by Mr. Libby.

#### What Youth Wants

THIS is a conflict, not between age and youth, but between youth and youth; so said Lord Halifax in a recent speech which is now being widely distributed in the pamphlet form in which *The Times* reprinted it.

Pointing out that this statement "lets out the older generation nicely from all responsibility for this latest blood-bath," a correspondent in the March 8 issue of *Truth*, T. J. Egerton Warburton, put Lord Halifax's statement in its proper perspective in these words:

"Were the Almighty in his exceeding wisdom to stretch forth His hand and blot out of existence the Governments and ruling circles of the belligerent countries, how long, do you suppose, would this criminal war continue? How long would it be before the young fellows facing each other across No Man's Land decided that there was, after all, no issue between them? How long before the cannon-fodder on both sides decided to cease being cannon-fodder?"

"How long before 'fraternization' (that bugbear of the High Commands) developed into international Socialism, right on the Western Front?"

#### "No Appreciable Effect"

THE Peace Pledge Union was the subject of questions in the House of Commons on Friday.

Mr. Salt declared there was "much indignation in the Midlands" at its activities, "in its efforts to encourage and tutor men in their applications for exemption from military service . . . and at the distribution of handbills and literature likely to be detrimental to the defence of the realm." Two other Birmingham MPs, Sir P. Hannon and Sir S. Crooke were similarly worried.

Sir John Anderson refused to commit himself, however, to any action. He replied:

"There is, I think, no reason for apprehension that these activities have any appreciable effect on the organization of national defence or on the determination of the British people to devote themselves to the efficient prosecution of the war. I am having a close watch kept and am keeping in view the question whether special measures may be called for."

In reply to a further question he declared: "Reports reaching me from every quarter, including Birmingham, go to show that the activities referred to are, in fact, having no appreciable effect beyond making a certain number of people very angry." (Laughter.)

When Mr. McGovern raised the question he asked if there was anything criminal in giving out leaflets and helping COs who did not know their rights, Sir John merely replied: "A great deal depends on how it is done."

While the position is not satisfactory, it is clear that the Government is not keen to accept its back-benchers' suggestions that freedom should be further restricted. When, in fact, Mr. Maxton asked him on March 7 whether he would tell the leaders of organizations liable to alleged subversive activity where their activities were infringing the law of the land, Sir John said he was always willing to give helpful advice in all quarters in which it was earnestly sought.

#### Bringing What Things Home to Them?

SIR WARREN FISHER, North-Western Regional Commissioner, speaking at a luncheon of the Manchester Publicity Association on Friday, urged that "this was a war of religion and unless we were as convinced of the truth of the principles underlying the Sermon on the Mount as were the Prussians about their own hellish doctrine of brutality, bestiality, bullying, fraud, cunning, and plunder we doomed ourselves to failure. . . . We must, if we were to deal with them, temporarily put aside our traditional methods and give them hell in every sort of way best calculated to bring things home to them. Large and frequent doses of their own medicine were essential if we were to make any impression on them."

#### Call for Peace Aims

EIGHT hundred local organizations in all parts of Great Britain have endorsed an appeal communicated to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, which urges the British Government to make a precise and constructive statement of its peace aims and to announce its willingness to enter into peace discussions on the basis of its declaration. The Appeal was brought to the notice of Mr. Sumner Welles when he was in London. The Appeal is issued by the National Peace Council.

### ARMISTICE CALL IN AUSTRALIA

PACIFISTS in Britain are not alone in demanding an armistice and an international conference now—instead of at the end of a long war.

Members of the Australian Peace Pledge Union have been distributing leaflets making the same proposal.

"Write to your local Member of the Federal Parliament," urged one of these leaflets. "Move resolutions in your various leagues, trades unions, and other organizations. Ask your clergy to support this desire of all the people for—peace."

## THE LAST TEN DAYS

We shall still issue shares after the 31st of this month. They will still be withdrawable by the holder at any time, subject to our legal right (which we are usually prepared to waive) to one month's notice. Interest will still be paid on these shares twice yearly, free of income tax—and the last feature grows almost as important as the dividend now the standard rate is seven shillings in the pound.

The interest payable on the new shares will, however, be three-and-a-half per cent. That will still be an excellent, fully competitive yield, and we are confident the issue will receive a ready welcome from new and old investors.

But until the 31st of this month—for ten more days in fact—we are accepting applications for shares which not only possess the merits we have mentioned but which yield also a higher rate of interest: the really exceptional rate of four per cent.

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Guy ALDRED in the Chair

Wednesday, April 3rd, at 7.30 p.m.

Kingsway Hall LONDON

Other speakers to be announced later.

Thursday, April 4th, at 7.30 p.m.

Picton Hall LIVERPOOL

with

John McGOVERN, M.P.

Sir Hugh ROBERTON

Chairman: Mr. HUGH BOWMAN

All friends of Peace are invited to co-operate. Will those able to assist in preliminary advertising and the sale of reserved seats please get in touch with Secretary, U.S.M., 29 Castle Street, Glasgow, or Clive Schofield, The Hollies, Olive Mount, Wavertree, or Darwin Fox, 13 John Street, London, W.C.1.

## TOWARDS THE A.G.M.

The following continues our series of short articles in which area representatives on the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union look toward the annual general meeting of the PPU, to be held on April 27 and 28.

By SYBIL MORRISON (London Area)

ON the Saturday evening session of last year's AGM a great cheer went up when the news came through that Roosevelt had broadcast an appeal to Hitler and Mussolini. Already war had come so near to us that this move from the United States was grasped at as a significant and saving gesture. We wanted peace to be saved. We wanted to prevent war; that had been the dominating thought of most pacifists for several years.

And the question arises: is it the business of the pacifist to prevent war, or is it the business of the pacifist to make more pacifists and prepare the way for a new social order in which war will be impossible?

We have failed to prevent war. Can we stop the war? The proof of so many people's Peace-by-Armaments pudding is now in the eating and the taste is bitter. There is just a chance that by a tremendous and united effort, by some miracle of vision and courage, we might now stop the war we have failed to prevent.

And so the question reappears in its new form. Is it the business of the pacifist to try to stop the war, or is it the business of the pacifist to prepare the way for the only condition in which real and lasting peace will be possible—a new social order?

These two issues must be integrated if the PPU is not to become disintegrated. It seems to me it is the business of the Council to find that common ground, that common reference on which the issue can be co-ordinated in common action. The Forethought Committee has been set up mainly for that purpose.

The Area representative has his (or her!) special place in this business of discovering the common ground. He can make a close contact

with the groups in his area; he has an opportunity to know, or at least try to understand the mind of the individual member, and it is through the mind and the feeling of the individual member that the pacifist movement lives and has its strength.

To find the way in which these two issues, stop the war and live pacifism, may be integrated is also the business of each individual member of the Peace Pledge Union. Let the members, at the AGM, give the Council a lead.

★

To the Editor.

Dick Sheppard started the PPU to get the working people of this country to refuse to support war. What are we going to do about it? Just sit down and create new individuals as E. Roach suggests? If so there won't be many people left alive by the time we've finished converting one-tenth of the PPU into new individuals. Who is going to get peace made now if we don't?

HAROLD R. HISCOCKS.

68 Oxford Buildings, Rodbourne, Swindon.

To the Editor

I found Tom Finnegan's contribution to *Peace News* refreshing. We have overlooked his vital point about "continually making people dissatisfied with conditions of war-time." What literature have we on the Means Test, or Old Age Pensions, or profiteering, or rationing, or restriction of liberty in France (our so-called democratic ally)? Why, why do we neglect the millions of poor? Aren't they worthy of conversion, they who form the bulk of the unwilling conscripts? No wonder we have had an unspectacular year—we have only catered for the well-educated, the well-to-do. We have neglected 90 percent of the nation.

GLADYS J. HARDY,

97 Rye Hill Park, London, S.E.15.

### New Link for Pacifists in South Africa

PACIFISTS isolated on farms and in small towns and villages throughout the scattered territory of the Union of South Africa are now kept in touch with their fellows by means of a news-bulletin which has just been launched.

Through this "newspaper" of their own they will hear of activities in the towns, and will get encouragement in their own stand for their beliefs.

The bulletin was started recently by the Cape-town Constructive Peace Group, which is linked with the Peace Pledge Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Besides containing short articles, the first issue of the bulletin told of the activity of the group, which has included public meetings, debates, and press correspondence. As a contrast to experience in Britain, South African pacifists have found a falling-off in attendance at meetings since the outbreak of war.

Complications due to racial differences in South Africa are also referred to in the bulletin, which declares: "No thinking person can escape the conclusion that there is a grave danger, if the war spreads, instead of being brought to an end by peaceful methods, of the tragedy of civil war coming to this country. What can we pacifists do to prevent that tragedy, and to further understanding, good will, and brotherhood between the two white races that compose our nation, and between the white and dark races of this country?"

### Peace Studies in Schools

A pioneer experiment in the education of children for peace is being undertaken in Buenos Aires by Antonio Cristani, director of the Argentine Biosophical Institute.

The school, which now has an enrollment of 180 children, offers courses including Peace History (as opposed to war history), Humane Geography (the study of humanity as one family and its relationship to the earth), and Neo-Pacifist ethics, as well as ordinary studies.

The Golden Lion Lunch Clubs was started under the auspices of the Refugee General Aid Committee to bring together English and foreign peoples—especially refugees who have otherwise little chance to form new friendships, and who in the present times are often lonely and neglected. A lunch is held once a week at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, W.1, and is found to fill a real need. It is hoped to start branches in other parts of London, and in provincial cities. Anyone interested in starting a club on these lines can obtain details from Mrs. Blyth, 6, Melina Place, St. Johns Wood, London, N.W.8.

### Neither Do We

Recently in the *Daily Herald*, Hannen Swaffer said he thought the following was the best true story of the war.

★

A friend of mine, a crime reporter, spent an evening with a man who was expecting, any minute, his arrest on a charge of murder.

He knew he was suspect. He knew the police were watching his every move.

He saw, through the window, detectives searching for clues, examining "exhibits," tightening what they thought might soon be a noose.

He talked excitedly. He waved his arms.

What do you think he was discussing?

His innocence? No!

His plight? No!

"I think these Peace Pledge Union people are a lot of traitors," he said. If I had my way, I'd shoot the lot!"

★

Hannen Swaffer added: "No, I draw no moral. . ."

### ON THE HOME FRONT

"And now a word or two as to the future. While it is impossible to predict the extent to which the events of 1940 may affect the business interests of the country, it is possible for us to recognize the nature of the influences which will, of a certainty, shape the form and direct the course of these events.

"Without doubt these influences will arise from the enormously extended aerial warfare we are now called upon to face. Differing from the war of 1914 to 18, that extension has had the effect of bringing every citizen in the country into the area of combat, and of subjecting them to that nervous strain which in the last war was mainly confined to the fighting forces.

"Now, gentlemen, all our thoughts and (following thereon) all our actions are controlled by our nerves. And I ask you to ponder what this ever-increasing nerve strain will mean in directing and, without doubt, extending those fanatical, and sentimental organizations and authorities which are only too ready to make the war an excuse for attacking and curtailing our individual liberties.

"DORA will again make war on democracy, and it behoves every citizen to strenuously defend at the Home Front these ideals of personal freedom and liberty which today the whole Empire and our Allies are fighting to maintain in their war against the Dictators."

—From booklet issued by the Scottish Licensees Mutual Insurance Association, Ltd. Taken from the chairman's address to 40th A.G.M.

## Books

### How Not To Eat Your Cake

How to Pay for the War. E. M. F. Durbin. Routledge. 3s. 6d.

How to Pay for the War. John Maynard Keynes. Macmillan. 1s.

Paying for the War. Geoffrey Crowther. Oxford University Press. 3d.

The Economic Effort of War. R. W. B. Clarke. Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.

The Political Economy of War. A. C. Pigou. Macmillan. 5s.

HIGH FINANCE is a very mysterious business—even to the elect of Lombard and Throgmorton Streets if we are to believe Mr. Montagu Norman, who rather pathetically declared some time ago that he knew nothing about money.

War Finance—or How To Pay For It All—is, however, a very simple affair. Starting from the unchallengeable axiom that you cannot eat your cake and have it, War Finance simply means the various devices by which "doing without" is made as practicable and as palatable as possible: the ways and means of public sacrifice now; for, as Durbin remarks:

"A great deal of nonsense was written in the last European war, and is already appearing again, about 'spreading the burden of the war over time' or 'distributing the cost of the war between present and future generations.' Such a hope, if hope it is, is very largely illusory."

"The war must be fought with weapons that are manufactured now. They must be made with the factors of production that would otherwise serve the needs of the present time. It is impossible to fill shells with the high explosives of the future, or to build aeroplanes with the hands of our grandchildren. We can only meet our own needs with our own goods."

How, then, to make sure that John Citizen, for whose Liberty, Democracy and Security this war is being fought, after all—how to make sure that he will get only that portion of the national cake that the Fighting Folk allot to him after they have had all they say they need?

#### Five Ways

Cutting out simple, voluntary abstinence (which isn't very hopeful because folk haven't as much as they want even in what they call peace time) there seem to me to be only five ways of doing it.

1. Compulsory Abstinence: that is, rationing, already in force in respect of butter, meat, bacon and sugar.

2. State Borrowing: that is, the Government takes money out of John Citizen's pocket by the inducement of interest, so that he hasn't got it to spend even if he wanted to.

3. Taxation: that is, the Government takes money out of John Citizen's pocket whether he likes it or not, with the same result as (2).

4. Inflation: that is, the Government lowers the value of the money in John Citizen's pocket, so that even though he has the same number of shillings in his pocket as before, they won't buy as much as before.

5. The Keynes Plan. The last-mentioned is the most original suggestion of this war. It has been widely canvassed and discussed, rapturously welcomed in some quarters, indelicately abused in others. What is it, in essence?

It is a combination of taxation, what is called "deferred pay" (née "compulsory savings")

(Continued on page 6.)

### Fighting Imperialism

No magazine has a longer or more honourable record in fighting against imperialism than

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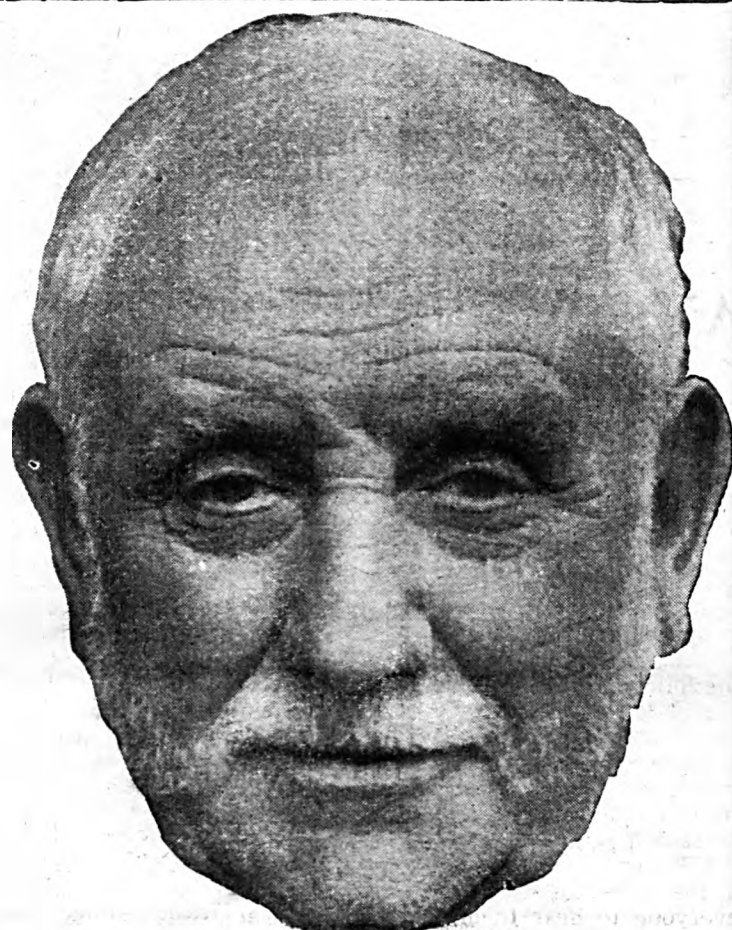
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# MR. LANSBURY'S EASTER MESSAGE

*Thou wilt not leave us in the dust;  
Thou madest man, he knows not why,  
He thinks he was not made to die;  
And thou hast made him; Thou art just.*  
—Lord Tennyson.



GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

ONCE more my article must start with a note of thanks to the many friends and organizations who so kindly remembered my birthday, sending me loving greetings and also to those who daily send greetings, often accompanied with flowers, wishing me a speedy recovery from illness and return to active life. I am most grateful to them all. My health has improved and with the coming of the sun I hope soon to be quite well again. The hard winter has for the first time given me bronchitis and in other ways reminded me my body is not a machine worked by "Perpetual motion."

Enforced rest is sometimes very irksome. But when we are tired in mind and body it may become a period of refreshment in the fullest sense of the word. Sitting alone, walking from room to room, looking at the coming of spring in the garden has given me a time of quiet, original thinking without being bothered to prove my thoughts right to other people.

## Message of Hope

Easter has always been a great time in my life. I have received the Sacrament in tiny village churches and cathedrals at home and abroad, and always my faith has been strengthened and my mind lifted for a brief period away from the doubts and difficulties which beset us all through life. This Easter time, with the realities of war all around us, may to some of my friends appear unreal. For those who have thought out and followed the life of Jesus from Bethlehem to Calvary the story of the Resurrection brings hope and confidence that, just as Nature restores her own ravages as well as man's, so also the children of men will one day rise supreme and with confidence and faith build a civilization worthy the knowledge and understanding of those we think of as the children of one Father.

My faith as a Christian grows stronger. The coming of this Easter Day will find me once more receiving the Sacrament of Remembrance and testifying in silence my absolute, unshakeable faith that for me and you and all mankind "Life is eternal." So, although I am writing this article at a time when our minds are full of the horrors of war, I would urge all my readers to allow their minds for a brief spell to escape from contemplating hatred and death and instead turn our minds toward Him who rode triumphantly into Jerusalem, was afterwards crucified as a malefactor and after a short respite left the tomb and founded His Church, sending a dozen uneducated, penniless, friendless men out into the world to preach the coming of the Kingdom of Love.

And, comrades, never forget that the work, the devotion, even the failures of these men and those who joined them laid

broad and wide the internationalism which is the basis on which the religion of Jesus is built.

I often say I am no theologian, and of course I am not, so don't ask me to prove or disprove the story of the Resurrection. My lifetime is too short for anything of the kind; what concerns me most at this moment is the condition of the world today. How can we change men's mental and moral attitude one toward another? How can the message of the Cross, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do," and the message of Easter, "Christ is risen," be made real and become accepted as the voluntary guide and rule of our lives. This is the only way of salvation for all mankind and in all our minds there is the assurance it is so. Who is there will dare to say Christianity has been tried by any people in the world and found wanting?

I know that the words of the hymn which tells of Christians who climbed the steep ascent to Heaven with sorrow, care and pain, are true, but their sufferings and persecutions were inflicted by cruel men who rejected the teaching of Jesus.

I have read again and again the many schemes put forward for ending the war and ensuring peace. Because I am a "Peace at any price" person I would agree to any terms which brought even a respite from the present almost intolerable burden of mental and physical suffering mankind is passing through. I hope and almost believe President Roosevelt and others may at this darkest hour find a way for such a respite. No-one knows better than me the tremendous difficulties which stand in the way of those who would be peace-makers.

## Maintain Peace Call

Also, it is true, permanent peace will take time, perhaps a very long time. Even so, those who, like myself, accept the way of life embodied in the life and death of Jesus can do no other than proclaim our faith. In spite of all opposition we must keep up our demand for peace, and peace now, because war of any kind is a crime against God and man, and this is the object I have in view when trying to write about Easter.

My life has largely been spent with others trying to do things which we hoped would benefit the world. How far we have succeeded or failed, who can say? Today I see life clearer than ever before. We cannot hope for a better world till we ourselves are better able to understand our lives are part of the life of all mankind. No Acts of Parliament, no fulminations by great men, no set of principles written on paper or parchment will create a nobler social or political order. All these things have been tried and failed and they have failed because some learned people of all generations vainly imagined that words, sentiments, preached by a few would control and direct the thought of others.

The Christian religion is something personal; we must each reject or accept it for ourselves. No-one can act as substitute for us.

This age is a wonderful one. It has failed, because most of us have left God out of our thoughts and lives. We pay lip-service to Him and His way of life, but few, if any, of us dare even try to follow where He leads. Now, in this day of adversity and with evil apparently dominant, to whom shall we turn for guidance and help? There is no mortal man living who can lead us in a true manner out of the slough of

confusion and ruin we find ourselves in. Roosevelt and others may be able to find a way of bringing a halt to the mad rush to ruin. I for one devoutly hope and pray that they may. There is, however, no permanent way out but the way of the Cross. Jesus the meek and lowly one, Jesus the loving friend of all in need, the one whose voice and words common people heard gladly, was spat upon, tortured, jeered at, bruised in mind and body so that mankind might have life, and life more abundantly.

So, my friends, my Easter message is the old one, "Christ is Risen," risen triumphant over death and pain, and is waiting for me and you to follow in His train.

The choice before mankind or Christ or Barrabas or, in other words, Christ or bombs, Christ or starving your enemies, Christ or wholesale slaughter of the young. This is the choice for Germans, Frenchmen, Britons—indeed for all mankind. Easter

Day, with its glorious message of redemptive love, tells me there is no middle course. We must, if we would live at peace, choose the Nazarene, and with Him say of our enemies as we hope they will say of us, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

## The Slaves of War

Two men looked through prison bars:  
one saw blood, the other Mars;  
a third saw glory, shouted "Hail"! . . .  
He was the keeper of the jail.  
—Telemachus.

## FEEDING THE ALLIGATOR

### An Allegory—by Stuart Chase

ONCE there was a man who lived alone with his family on a steamy tropical river. He had a great many children. They had thin bodies, long faces and large mouths. They were always hungry. It was more than the man could do to fill them up. He had a wife who cooked and swept. She had a small, tight mouth and hardly ever opened it.

All that the family had to eat was fish. Every day the man went out on the river with his boat and net. The children stood on the bank and opened their wide mouths wider. Under the sun the river became a copper furnace, and the mosquitoes were terrible.

WHEN his net was full, or as full as he could get it, the man divided the fish into two piles. Then he paddled over to the side of the river where the reeds were thick and high. In the middle of the reeds was a large alligator making amiable noises. The alligator had been there as long as the man could remember, and his father and grandfather before him.

The man believed that the alligator was the guardian of his establishment. If the alligator left, the defencelessness of his home would be incalculable. So incalculable that the man had never calculated it; nor had his father and grandfather before him.

But it had to be admitted the alligator ate a lot of fish. A large proportion of the catch, every day. Furthermore, the alligator had no means of keeping track of Sundays.

So the man would feed the alligator one fat fish after another until its amiable noises were hushed by digestive processes, and then he would paddle the rest of the catch back to the hungry children. They would still be on the bank, their mouths wider than ever.

His wife would look at the fish with contempt and fry them without a word. The children ate them, bones and all, but seemed to be bottomless. The man could not eat very much because he was so hot and tired. But it made him feel better to hear the family protector over in the reeds chunching happily.

ONE very hot day, two of the children went in swimming. They swam out toward the reeds. When the man stopped to give the alligator its daily take, the protector did not seem very hungry. True, it consumed the fish, but in a slow, dreamy way. The man was worried. What if it should get sick?

When he got home, for once the family had almost enough to eat. Two of the heartiest eaters were missing from the table. Where could they be? The man loved his children, for all the work they gave him, and he was much distressed. To his astonishment, he suddenly heard his wife talking. She said:

"If I were you, I'd get rid of that alligator."

"But," said the man, deeply shocked, "it is our protector, and that of our fathers and grandfathers before us."

"Fine," said his wife. "It has taken a good share of our food every day for years and years, and now it's taken Annabel and Benjamin."

"This," said the man, removing his hat, "is the most momentous crisis in the history of mankind."

"Crisis, my eye," said his wife. "Give me that club, the one with the spikes on it."

"No," said the man, "I'll do it. But it destroys all my deepest principles and convictions, and those of my father and grandfather before me."

"It's about time," said his wife.

DO you think the man in my story was feeble-minded? Perhaps he was. All the nations of the world put together are behaving in a very similar way. Are all the nations of the world feeble-minded? They are giving a large proportion of their livelihood to a gigantic mechanism which is more destructive than any alligator. Every now and then it eats some of the nations' children.

The more fish the alligator gets, the larger he grows, and the more he demands. He will eat us out of house and home, out of this planet, unless we get together pretty soon to club him into insensibility.

\*Reprinted by permission from "The Christian Century," Chicago.



And Jesus said unto him, Neither do I condemn thee: go sin no more.



# Official's Move to Counteract Pacifist Propaganda

News from Abroad

## ANTI-WAR RADIO IN FRANCE

A LEEDS reader writes: "Those who understand French and have wireless sets capable of picking up short-wave transmissions, might be interested to listen in to the broadcasts of a short wave transmitter called 'La Voix de la Paix' (The Voice of Peace), which is a secret station run by a French anti-war group.

"The station is on the air every night at the following times: 6.30 p.m., 7.30 p.m., 8.30 p.m., 9.30 p.m., and 10.30 p.m. It operates on the following wavelengths: 41.60 metres, 47.85 metres and 49.67 metres. The transmission lasts about half-an-hour, and the items of news and information are interspersed by gramophone records.

"The broadcast is repeated each evening at the times stated above in order to enable everyone to hear them, and the anti-war case is stated most effectively. The speaker deals with the horrors and futility of war, exposes the activities of the war-mongers and the war profiteers, and the shams of many political 'leaders.' Furthermore, he gives many interesting items of news taken from the neutral press.

"Personally I keenly look forward every evening to listening in to this station, and feel sure that a number of your readers might also wish to hear it."

## French Pacifists Jailed

NEWS of the imprisonment of two well-known French pacifists, Philippe and Pierre Vernier, has just been received by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

They were tried before a military court in Marseilles, apparently on February 22, and sentenced to four years' and two years' imprisonment respectively.

Both men were in excellent spirit. Philippe was charged with both insubordination and disobedience, and Pierre only with disobedience. As an ordained pastor able to produce testimony from the "Belgian Christian Missionary Church" Philippe was not this time met with the assertion that the Church was against him. In reply to a question about the legitimacy of defence, Philippe Vernier declared that the time was one for defence but for a Christian offensive against war comparable with that which had formerly overcome slavery. War was forbidden by the Gospel.

His brother, with striking simplicity and poignancy, made an appeal against war for the sake of all the young men to whom nothing but words of death were spoken and who saw only darkness before them. Pierre declared himself ready for whatever his lot might be, but he would not fight except with the weapons of the spirit. The President of the Court closed the case with these challenging words: "At such a time as this the weapons of the spirit are inadequate to defend our homes."

It is understood that the two men have now been sent to Avignon. Henri Roser, who was sentenced in December also to four years' imprisonment, has now been moved to Rambouillet.

## Sentenced for Anti-War Pamphlet

FOR having copies of a pamphlet, in which he had declared that "in our barracks boys of eighteen and nineteen years are systematically trained for the vilest methods of murder," a Dutch anti-militarist was charged with deliberately insulting public authority and fined forty florins, with the option of twenty days' imprisonment.

He is Dr. Hugenholtz, Secretary of the Church and Peace Society of Christian Anti-Militarists.

The trial took place in December, and a report which has just reached *Peace News* shows that Dr. Hugenholtz defended himself by quoting instruction given in the use of the bayonet, and evidence as to its effect as a weapon.

He told the court:

"Our fight is really a fight against principles and not against men. Indeed, in the same pamphlet, in the line directly following the line in question, I continued, 'This fight is not directed against persons but against principles and opinions.' From that the reader could learn that it has never been my intention to insult the Public Authority, whatever that may mean.

"I directed my attack exclusively against the preparation for war, which is systematically taught and practised in the barracks, and which by authority of my Christian conviction I must condemn and characterize as sinful."

## CONFIDENTIAL LETTER TO LOCAL EDITOR

HAS the Ministry of Information issued instructions designed to counteract and discredit pacifist propaganda?

We ask the question in view of a confidential letter sent to the editor of a local newspaper by a Regional Information Officer of the Ministry, the original of which is in our possession.

Photographs of extracts from the letter appear on page one. The full text of the letter is as follows:

"I am writing this letter to invite your special co-operation in an effort to counteract the activities of the Peace Pledge Union and other bodies putting forth organized pacifist propaganda.

"Let me, however, make one point absolutely clear at the outset. There is no suggestion whatever of departing from the principle of allowing complete freedom of genuine conscience. What I want to attack is interference with that same conscientious freedom, as practised by the organizations to which I have referred.

"Thoughts are being deliberately put into young men's minds; they are being practically invited to evade what most people regard as an obligation of citizenship; they are being 'coached' in the kind of answers that may assist them at the tribunals; in some cases, stereotyped statements of 'viewpoint' are being supplied to them, ready-written for them to sign. I know of one case in which a young man was told, 'Of course we cannot take the responsibility of advising you to tamper with truth, but it will obviously be to your advantage if you can remember that you have held anti-war views since your school days.'

"I feel sure that the vast majority of people regard this kind of thing as absolutely wrong, and that a strong expression of views about it in your columns would meet with a general welcome. It will obviously carry additional weight, too, as coming spontaneously from the editorial pen rather than as 'inspired' material.

### "From Enemy Sources"

"There is also, of course, the consideration that much of this pacifist propaganda is suspect of deriving its inspiration not from genuine abhorrence of war, but from enemy sources. A study of the past records of some of its leaders goes to strengthen that suspicion.

"My confidential instructions from the Ministry are to take all legitimate steps to counteract this pernicious propaganda, and very naturally my thoughts have turned immediately to our friends of the Press. I shall also endeavour to act through the medium of public meetings, and our efforts will be further supported, at a slightly later stage, by the production of literature to counteract that issued by pacifist organizations.

"It would be impertinence on my part to attempt to indicate the lines your co-operation should take, save perhaps to suggest that less prominence might be given to the arguments put forward at the tribunals by conscientious objectors, and that a series of positive, forthright articles would obviously be very helpful in moulding public opinion. And merely in order that you may know the lines on which my own thoughts have been running, I have set out in the attached sheet a few arguments which occur to me.

"Thanking you for any assistance you may feel able to give..."

### Confidential Notes

It will be noticed that no evidence is given to substantiate the serious allegations made in this letter.

Following are the "Confidential Notes on Anti-Pacifist Arguments," to which reference is made in the above letter and which are obviously intended to provide material for "a series of positive, forthright articles":

"(a) The principle of freedom of conscience is one of the things we are fighting this war to uphold, so clearly there must be no interference with genuine conscientious objectors. But...

"(b) There is strong reason to believe that not all of the so-called 'conscientious objectors' are genuine. Those exceptions are abusing their freedom.

"(c) Similarly, freedom of speech is one of our most sacred liberties. But here again, those bodies which interfere with the young man's freedom of conscience, putting stereotyped words into his mouth, are abusing freedom of speech.

"(d) If the pacifist bodies are free to preach their creed, similar freedom must be accorded to those who believe they are misleading our young men. They must likewise be free to call 'artificial' conscientious objection by its true names, which are Disloyalty, Treachery and Cowardice.

"(e) Again, if the pacifist claims the right to 'coach' the young man for the tribunal, the opponents of pacifism have equally the right to ask him whether he is prepared to live in a Britain wherein there will be no liberty of the individual, no freedom of speech or of conscience, a Britain of the concentration camp, the jack-boot and the rubber truncheon.

"(f) Does the pacifist realize that, in the

event of Britain passing under German domination, he himself would undoubtedly be the first victim of the concentration camp? The Nazis, for all their faults, hate and despise cowards and traitors. If they ruled Britain, they would assuredly not allow people of that kidney to remain at liberty."

"(g) What will the 'conscience' of the 'artificial' conscientious objector be like in years to come, when he has to tell his children that he 'swung the lead' and skulked in security while others faced death and mutilation in order that he might go on living and enjoying his freedom?"

"(h) The association of certain branches of the Peace Pledge Union with the British Union of Fascists, who are noted Apostles of the Gospel of Force, does not help to impress one with the sincerity of the pacifists' cause."

(Questions in Parliament—see A Pacifist Commentary, page 2.)

## Halls Banned

At Petworth and Petersfield the PPU has been banned from holding meetings in halls. Halls in Petworth were not available for the local group, which has just been formed and is working in close connexion with Midhurst, another new group. A room has been found, however, at the Red Lion public house and the meeting will be on April 3 at 7.30 p.m., with Basil Painting as the speaker.

At Petersfield, where the group has been revived, the Urban Council refused an application for the use of the Town Hall. There are hopes of the public meeting being held in another hall.

## Scared of... Peace!

"A 'PEACE SCARE' seized the New York Stock Exchange last night, causing considerable selling.

"Prices declined one to two points, especially in steel securities and the so-called 'war securities.'

"The movement was based on rumours spreading from Europe, none of which could be confirmed."—*Daily Herald*, March 16.

## Women's Peace Campaign

## GIVE A LEAD FOR PEACE!

"WHAT can we women do, here and now, to stop this war and stop it quickly?" That is a question that was asked me at a meeting last Saturday. If I knew the answer to that question I should be the great leader of this nation; I should have the large majority of the people in this country behind me, willing to follow me at all costs.

Yes, the majority want the war to stop and they want it to stop quickly. Fear and ignorance prevent that majority from making their voices heard. Women have great powers of endurance, infinite patience, much imagination, tremendous courage, it is for us to show the way.

Let us get fifteen million signatures to our petition. Let us have regular poster parades. Let us distribute our leaflets. Let us give service wherever we can. Let us persuade, convince, lead.

If you have any ideas for the campaign please write to me. If you have any money to spare please send it to me. If you have any time to give please let me know.

We women are going to give a lead towards peace. There is no time to waste. All our energy, all our faith, all our imagination are needed now. Let women lead the way to peace.

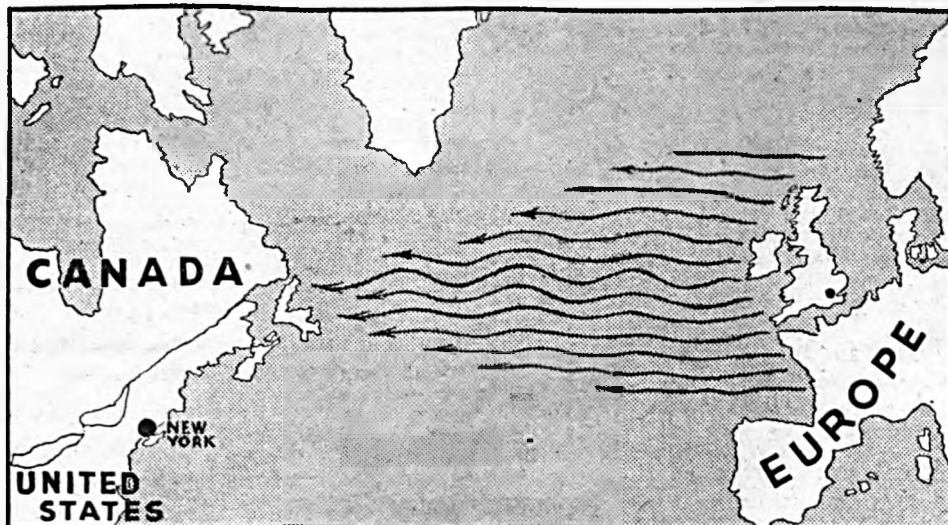
SYBIL MORRISON.

6 Endsleigh Street,  
London, W.C.1.

## Another Call to Labour

The annual meeting of the Salisbury branch of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers recently called for "an immediate end to the political truce" and requested the Labour Party and TUC to "make strenuous efforts for a negotiated peace now."

## WHO SHALL CARRY THEM?



On the war-clouded shores of Europe they wait.

On the other side they see hills and trees with the sun shining on them.

They know that there is the "right" to work and to be freemen. But there is a great gulf; the Atlantic is wide and deep.

## THE WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

have brought numbers of our refugees to England.

Affidavits have been obtained for them giving entry to U.S.A. But their tickets bought in Germany have been cancelled.

Fares to the Western Hemisphere have gone up 60%.

Yet over 50 refugees are already settled overseas.

### WILL YOU HELP THOSE WHO STILL WAIT?

A. Ruth Fry, Hon. Treasurer,  
11 Abbey Road, Enfield,  
Middlesex.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## The Message of Easter

SURELY the message of Easter has a greater appeal for peace than any other Christian story, even greater than Christmas with its message of good will on earth.

For is it not at Easter that we revere the greatest triumph of Good over Evil, accomplished not by the slaughter and privation of millions but by the loving kindness and self-sacrifice of one?

How great could be the triumph of good this Easter if the rulers of the people were as eager to sacrifice themselves for peace as they are to sacrifice others in war; if the people themselves were filled with amity rather than enmity.

To ignore this appeal is to re-enact the Crucifixion.

BERNARD TAYLOR.

32 Reverdy Road, Bermondsey, S.E.1.

## Federal Union

Mr. Housman is a writer and a speaker for whom there is widespread respect among both pacifists and non-pacifists. I hope, however, that I shall be speaking for a large number of his admirers when I protest against his article in last week's issue of *Peace News*.

He writes admittedly on the "weakness of Federal Union," but, I believe, has fallen

tragically short of his usual high literary standard by omitting to stress first of all the undoubted advantages and promising possibilities of the Federal idea—an emphasis which would have made his condemnation of the use of military force by a Federal Union infinitely more effective.

Surely it cannot be denied by most thinking people that this proposal has come nearer than any other plan so far put forward to a just solution of the world's difficulties on the basis of human brotherhood, and the "remedying of the economic inequalities which have so largely helped to produce war." Mr. Housman is doing the cause of pacifism and world peace no good by displaying an attitude which new *Peace News* readers are only too likely to interpret as merely negative.

R. W. N. VELLACOTT.

"Overton," Swanwich Lane,  
Swanwich, Southampton.

Mr. Wellock, Lord Ponsonby and Mr. Housman have had their say and displayed a marked ignorance of the ideas of Federal Unionism.

The suggestion that a member nation may rebel, using military force, is not probable, because (1) national patriotism will weaken the wider interests of the Union; (2) a nation, e.g., Germany, would no longer act as a separate entity but as part of a body. Therefore they could not rearm as a nation but only as a private army.

Let us take the first step towards a collective society determined that the social life of the peoples shall be so revered and raised within the Union that war will be impossible.

ARCHD. CHALMERS.

152 Kingsheath Avenue, Rutherglen, Scotland.

There appears to be some confusion of thought over the question of the duties of a federal police force. I cannot do better, in clearing up the confusion, than quote from *The Case for Federal Union* by W. B. Curry.

"Because a federal government operates directly upon individuals, its methods of law enforcement can be the same as those of any other government. Operating upon individuals, not upon States, its police action becomes genuine police action, whereas the so-called police action of a League can only take the form of war."

There is, however, one very important point which, in fairness, I must not omit. During the stages of formation of a Federal Union, before all nations of the world are united, what is going to be the attitude of Federal Union to nations outside the federation who choose to be aggressive? I submit that economic sanctions, if properly applied would cause far less suffering than would military sanctions and have the great advantage of allowing time for the people of the aggressor nation (to whom the sanctions are applied) to rebel against their own government and ensure that it ceases the aggression which has made the application of sanctions necessary.

C. T. MARMOY.

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PRIVATE Bed-sitting-rooms in Pacifist Community. 25s. inclusive.—Apply Dorothy Vickers, 77 St. James Road, Sutton.

## BOOKS

TRUTH ABOUT THIS WAR. The book for which *Action* and the *New Leader* refused advertisements. *Truth* says "so dangerous that the authorities should lose no time in suppressing it." Two shillings and sixpence from British People's Party, 13 John Street, London, W.C.1.

## BUSINESS

OWNER wishes lend £200 safe concern. No interest wanted. Hospitals or pacifist work.—Box 370, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

## EDUCATIONAL

FRENCH, German, Spanish, Italian taught by correspondence.—Macrina School of Languages, Osborne Road, Southsea.

## FOR SALE

MORRIS 8 Car, 1937; 4-door, sunshine saloon; one owner, excellent running condition. What offers?—Box 374, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

## MEETINGS, &amp;c.

CONFERENCE AT SOUTH LYTCHETT MANOR, POOLE, April 19-22, on aspects of permanent WORLD PEACE. Speakers: Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., LL.D., Chairman World Congress of Faiths; Sir Charles Marston, F.S.A., author of *The Bible is True*, &c.; Lady Lees, Principal S.L.M. School on Education for Peace; H. J. Schonfeld, Director of Peace Book Co., and others. Accommodation available for limited numbers at a charge of £1. Tickets for sessions 5s. inclusive.—Application to Lady Lees, above address.

## MISCELLANEOUS

VIOLINIST wishes to form Trio. Interested pianist or cellist please write to Wesling, 19 Chalton House, Chalton Street, Euston, N.W.1.

Few revolutionary movements succeed in immediately winning public and officialdom to their support, and the moment of their success is usually the moment of their spiritual downfall. Today, all the best politicians and men of business and the bourgeois press have turned federalist; Women's Conservative Associations throughout the country are buzzing with the thrill of federation; Mr. Wells, the inevitable champion of the winning dog, has adopted Federal Union as his pet. All these facts tend to make me suspicious. Is it not too obvious why officialdom smiles so sweetly on federation? In it, it sees its only hope of survival.

A new spirit is needed, not a new machinery of government. The soul of Europe is bankrupt; there is unbelief and no charity. And the only statesman at all likely to understand this is Herr Hitler—the only diplomat capable of destroying the diplomatic chessboard. Unfortunately, he has, I believe, got hold of wrong conceptions, and so is a fanatic and not a saint.

We need a saint; or we must await and assist the gradual growth among the people of a spiritual understanding. We must cry death to materialism. We must, perhaps, have a revolution. Somehow, the bourgeois mind must be stamped out. Till then, no peace, no order in the world.

CHARLES DAVEY.

Ampleforth College, York.

## New World Order

I write without consultation with Dr. C. E. M. Joad, but I think your note in regard to the meeting held at the Central Hall on March 12 misrepresents—no doubt unconsciously—his attitude towards proposals for the stopping of the war. Whether the phrase ought to be applied to Mr. H. G. Wells, or not, I am sure that Dr. Joad does not take the view "that the war must be fought out first and then the new world order brought about." I believe that he shares with most readers of your paper an earnest desire to see a satisfactory settlement of the war reached at the earliest possible moment.

GERALD BAILEY.

Directing Secretary,  
National Peace Council.

39 Victoria Street, S.W.1

If we take the basis of the Rights of Man, plus the principle of a union of Peoples, and accept the necessity for an immediate Peace, do we not meet the situation correctly and get a coherent policy to which all sections of genuine democratic thought can subscribe?

How then can it be accomplished? I submit that the answer is: through World Union. To quote its main object, "World Union is a World Brotherhood for the attainment of World Democracy, and thereby, the institution and enactment of World Law, based upon the Rights of Man."

It should be made quite clear that membership of World Union does not interfere with any activities already engaged in, but acts as corollary thereto.

L. B. TEMPLE,

Hon. Secretary,  
World Union British Section.

3 St. George's Place, Brighton 1.

## Classified Advertisements

Latest time for copy,  
Tuesday morning

## PERSONAL

NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE Glasgow and West of Scotland Advisory Bureau meets every Saturday at 2 p.m. in SSP Rooms, 70 Robertson Street, Glasgow, C2. S. McGill, Secretary, 3 Bellicole Street, Glasgow, S2.

WHO would assist German pacifist refugee, 25, emigration USA? Also temporary home required London until departure.—Box 371, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

## PRINTING

HANDBILLS AND POSTERS FREE. If your group is organizing a Public Meeting send for particulars of my offer of 20 percent increase in your order without charge.—C. F. Ducret, Printer, Cargreen Road, London, S.E.25 PPU member. Keep this advert for future reference.

PACIFIST PRINTER: Handbills, leaflets, programmes and general printing.—W. J. Bridgen, 232, Sellincourt Road, London, S.W.17

PRINTING of any description. Cheapest house in country for leaflets, &c. Speedy delivery.—Gait and Son, Shipley, Yorks. Entirely PPU.

## PUBLICATIONS

"PLEASE MAY I have twelve more. . . I think it excellent." An extract from one of many letters from subscribers to *Headline News-Letters*. Fifty-two letters, 10s. 0d. Twenty-six 5s. 6d. Specimen Copy, 2d.—Sec., *Headline News-Letters*, 13 John Street, W.C.1.

WHAT IS YOUTH THINKING about the war and other serious subjects today?—*Youthopia*, a world-minded youth journal, will shortly be issued on postal subscription. Send a p.c. for details to *Youthopia*, 3 Colwyn Road, Northampton.

## RELIGIOUS

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

## SITUATIONS

## Vacant

MAN AND WIFE (preferably 30 to 50) wanted as caretaker and cook for bungalow, Kent.—Box 368, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

WANTED for Guest House. Strong handyman, some housework; sleep out; Farnham, Surrey.—Box 369, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

## How Not to Eat Your Cake

(Continued from page 3)

and a scheme of family allowances. Its basic proposal is that a portion of John Citizen's earnings be withheld from his pay packet and placed in trust for him until the war is over—with his Friendly Society, or his Trade Union, or the Post Office Savings Bank at 2½ percent compound interest. Mr. Keynes believes that half the money needed to finance the war could be obtained this way, the rest being raised by taxes. The idea of the family allowances is to ensure that everyone will have a certain minimum standard of living.

Let those who want the war to go on debate their choice of the various methods, or combinations of methods. For me the discussion is academic. I'm not interested in running the war; I want to stop the whole crazy business now, having no faith in any hopes or plans for the aftermath if it goes on until both parties are exhausted. However, for those who do desire to speculate I can wholeheartedly recommend the books listed above, expressing my personal preference for the cheapest of the bunch, by the Editor of *The Economist*; it is simply written, covers as much of the field as anyone needs, and is refreshingly devoid of the mumbo-jumbo by which the experts contrive to invest their subject with more mystery and importance than it merits.

Andrew Stewart

## Facts About Federation

Federation and World Order. Duncan and Elizabeth Wilson. Nelson, 2s. 9d.

This is a very useful addition to the growing literature on federalism. The authors provide a summary of the form and achievement of the League of Nations and accounts of the origins and records of federalism in the United States, Canada and Australia. They are not strictly, or too excitedly, propagandist: nobody could be who could say: "That our present situation is far from satisfactory will hardly be denied." But they will hardly satisfy the pacifist who has already digested his Streit, his Curry and his Usherwood.

The authors find that there have been two main incentives to federation: fear of external enemies, and the disadvantages of economic separatism. Today, they urge, these inducements to federation in Europe are pressing. There is the challenge of the totalitarian States, and the discontent of ordinary folk in every country. We are urged, in fact, (a) to a "line up" against the dictatorships, and (b) to do something about "the disadvantages of a system (or anarchy) under which political frontiers automatically become economic barriers."

What the authors have not realized, or what something has barred them from saying, is that until the whole business of exploitation—man by man, people by people—is superseded in favour of a genuinely collective, co-operative economy, all talk of a truly federal, democratic-superstructure is futile.

WOMAN (Food Reform, Vegetarian) wanted to assist with 2 evacuated children, domestic duties. Country.—Box 376, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

## Situations—Wanted

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST, graduate, complete exemption, business, secretarial and agricultural experience, requires social or other interesting work. Board and pocket money acceptable.—Box 375, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

CO requires light agriculture work. No experience. Not forestry. Sussex district preferred.—Box 373, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

PACIFIST (27) requires work anywhere. Experienced accountancy, selling and driving (private and commercial).—Lane, 238, Kingston Road, Portsmouth

SALESMAN, Christian Pacifist (25) seeks employment, farming, agriculture, interested in livestock. Inexperienced, but willing. Huddersfield district preferred, not essential.—Box 377, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

ADAPTABLE YOUTH (18) requires technical office situation, North London preferred, some experience draughtsmanship.—Box 372, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

## TYPEWRITING.

BEST RIBBON Now Costs only 2s. 0d., postage paid. Name typewriter, colour(s).—Lamb's, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

## WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform. Vegetarian Guest House. Alt. 600 ft. For happy holidays or restful recuperation. Central heating. H. and c. water in bedrooms.—A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars Crich, Matlock, Station: Ambergate (L.M.S.). Tel: Ambergate 44.

IN THE "VALLEY OF PEACE" Guest House that provides an escape from war atmosphere. Vegetarian Food Reform table. Log fires. Beautiful setting near Beech Woods. Tariff from proprietors: "Fortune's Well," Sheepscombe, Stroud, Glos.

LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, W.C.1. B and B, 5s.; double, 8s. 6d. Opposite St. Pancras Station. Tel. 3572.

WYE VALLEY HOLIDAYS. Guest House and Community Crafts Centre. Vegetarian diet. Barn House, Brockweir, Mon.

YOUTH HOUSE. Residential and Social centre for progressive youth. Vegetarian restaurant, lectures, dances, language classes, rambles, &c. Internationalism and fellowship in active communal life. Single bed-sitting-rooms, 15s. per week.—Apply Secretary, 250 Camden Road, N.W.1. Gulliver 5189.

## Points from Letters

## COURAGE

At the present moment, when principles are so often bartered in return for public approval and material gain, it is well to note the courage which has been shown by one man, Lord Tavistock. In his position he was particularly a target for the accusations and sneers of those who are trying at all cost to preserve the present political system based on military force. But in spite of all the discouragement which he must have foreseen in making public his peace negotiations, he has shown that moral courage which at the present day is so much more valuable than the physical courage now so loudly applauded.

ALICE RAVEN  
(Barrister-at-Law).

## EVOLUTION

How easy it becomes for us to dim the lamp of truth by over-simplification of reality when in argument or article we wish to convince others of the validity of our panacea. Roy Walker in his article on Non-Violence (*Peace News*, March 15) falls a prey, I fear, to this error. The finality of the statement "There are two sides to pacifism . . . Social Revolution and Immediate Action" leads me to suggest at least a further side—the way of the Mediator or Illuminator, which, discerning life as movement (arising out of the play of opposing forces), provides opportunity for life to be the prime mover and so makes possible growth in time. This we may call Evolution.

"A FOLLOWER OF THE TWO."

## TRIBUNALS

I am appalled to observe Frank F. Conlyson's contention that to appear before a tribunal is to imply that one is prepared to accept the findings of that tribunal. I certainly do not agree. The tribunals exist to afford the conscientious objector an opportunity of establishing his objection to military service. If he fails to satisfy the tribunal, is he to ignore the dictates of his conscience in order to comply with the decision of a body of men who, perhaps, have failed to appreciate his objection?

L. A. BIRD, Huddersfield.

## A BETTER POLICY

I have yet to find the person who will not respond to kindly, generous and neighbourly actions. Will not this policy, which most people admit would be the better policy privately, prove a better course nationally? The German people do not thank us for hurling bombs and bricks at them, or into their gardens. Why not commence to send them quite freely butter, margarine, tea, coffee, and other good things they probably lack? It would cost less than war; it could not prove more disastrous to the young lives of both countries; it would reduce our unemployment; and it could surely not be more ridiculous than the present mad situation.

STANLEY PECK, St. Leonards-on-Sea.

## TO OLD ELTHAMIANS

May I, through your columns, ask all pacifists who were at Eltham College to send their addresses to me with a view to starting a corresponding circle for mutual help?

DEREK EDWARDS, Fir Farm, Lower Slaughter, nr. Cheltenham, Glos.

## CREATIVE PACIFISM

A concrete plan in which all can share would, I feel, give great impetus to our movement.

Until such a plan is launched, however, the individual must not only renounce war; he must find enjoyment in some such restricted activities as the following:—

1. The creation of a friendly feeling around him.
2. Contact with refugees should be established.
3. Why not also try our hand at the German language?

F. W. CRAYFORD, Brighton.



## Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers; organizers (and secretary's address).

As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion. Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

### Tomorrow (Saturday)

**BOURNEMOUTH:** 3 p.m. Floating Bridge; meet for ramble to Swanage via Studland; discussion and talk with Swanage members at 6 p.m. Returning to Bournemouth in moonlight.

### Tuesday, March 26

**EALING:** 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 49 Uxbridge Road; debate: "The aim of the Pacifist"; PPU.

**GLASGOW:** 7.30 p.m. Central Halls, Bath Street; Sybil Morrison, Rev. C. Vincent Williams, W. Oliver Brown on "Negotiate Peace Now"; PPU.

**HAYWARDS HEATH:** 8 p.m. Perry Mount Library; group meeting; "Why I am NOT a Pacifist"; statements by visitors; Peace Group.

**TOWER HILL:** 12.45 p.m. Open-air meeting; David Ritchie; City PPU group

### Wednesday, March 27

**BARKING:** 8 p.m. Witney Chambers, Fanshawe Avenue; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

**KINGSTON:** 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Eden Street; C. A. Price on "Art and the Pacifist"; PPU.

**LONDON, S.W.12:** 8 p.m. Small Trevena Hall, Boundaries Road; "What Pacifism means to me," by group members; PPU.

**YEOVIL:** 7.30 p.m. The Park School The Park; Rev. Donald Male and Stanley Hargreaves (chairman); United Pacifist Group.

### Thursday, March 28

**GLASGOW (Temple):** 7.30 p.m. Co-operative Hall, Linden Place; William McLane on "Debating"; No Conscription League.

**SUTTON:** 7.30 p.m. 77 St. James Road; opening of Peace Centre; performance of Haydn's Toy Symphony; PPU.

### Friday, March 29

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Rev. A. D. Belden on "Conditions for a Peace Settlement"; PPU.

**SOUTHEND-ON-SEA:** 8 p.m. Stanstead House, London Road (Chalkwell Schools' Tram Stop); Wilfred Wellock and Cnr. Harold Clough (chairman) on "It a Negotiated Peace Possible?"; PPU.

### Saturday, March 30

**MAIDSTONE:** 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wheeler Street; Regional Conference; PPU.

### Saturday and Sunday, March 30 and 31

**GREAT HUCKLOW, Derbyshire:** "Barleycrofts"; Weekend School; James Avery Joyce; "The Cause and Cure of the present War"; further details from Donald Roger, Dick Sheppard Centre, 30a Change Alley, Sheffield 1.

### Sunday, March 31

**BANBURY:** 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Horse Fair; A. P. McDougall on "What I think about the War"; PPU.

## Absolutists

Absolutists wishing to make a supplementary Peace Pledge, should communicate with John Cleary-Baker at 31 St. Paul's Hill, Winchester, Hampshire.

The pledge is as follows: "I will decline all compulsory war-service, military, or civil, and will not assist the prosecution of the War in any way."

### First Aid Classes

First Aid classes for COs and others (Ladies invited) will be held in the Friends' Institute, 97 Islington Liverpool, 3, on Friday evenings at 7.30 p.m., commencing on April 5.

## p.p.u. bookshop

### NEW P.P.U. PAMPHLETS

The Human Person and Society, by Eric Gill. 3d.

The First Bond of Peace pamphlet, to be followed by others, by Canon Charles Raven, Wilfred Wellock and J. Middleton Murry.

### FOR THOSE WHO WANT TO BE FULLY INFORMED

Appellate Tribunal. Comments on the December sitting of the Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors, with several cases reported in full. Central Board for Conscientious Objectors. 6d.

Obtainable from P.P.U. Literature Department, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

# PERMEATION

By John Barclay

DURING the last few months I have visited groups all over the country from Edinburgh to Bournemouth and from Norwich to Swansea; north, south, east and west there is the same growth in the solid membership and an increase in the active work being done.

Conditions vary tremendously, and it is not possible to draw comparisons as between one part of the country and another. There is, however, a very satisfactory list of activities which seem common to all, and which accounts for the new interest being taken in our movement by the Press and the outside world.

As each month passes, there is a higher level of general acceptance of pacifist ideas.

More people become aware of the futility of war as a way out and a steady lowering of the war-fever takes place. If all groups could concentrate on certain activities which appear to contribute more than any others to this steady lowering of the "will to war," it might have an appreciable effect on the immediate situation.

I am fully conscious that many of our most active members are impatient and want to demonstrate their opposition in more specific ways, but it is the steady education that is going on that is making all the difference.

The most important work now being done in every part seems to me to be summed up in the word "permeation." This is carried on day after day by groups and falls under three heads: (1) Literature; (2) Debates; (3) Non-Co-operation.

People are reading more pacifist literature than ever before. The quantities of

good reading matter distributed are immense. Pamphlets and books are deadly weapons, feared by those who rely on slick slogans about Freedom and Patriotism. Nothing undermines a lie so much as the truth.

Debate, either formal or in the shape of public meetings, is widespread. Thousands of people attend our meetings every week, and the general rise in the level of questions is very noticeable. No longer are we asked "What would we do if a German entered our house and assaulted our wives?"

Thirdly, the fact that there are already over 26,000 young men standing out against conscription has already begun to influence public opinion, in spite of the misrepresentation and "ballyhoo" which goes on in the National Press in reporting their cases.

Therefore, I would urge that all possible efforts be directed now on:

- (1) The sale and distribution of literature;
- (2) The holding of indoor and outdoor meetings;
- (3) The giving of moral support to those who are prepared to be non-co-operative in the war machine.

### Annual General Meeting

There is every indication that this year we shall be crowded out. Please send delegates' forms to me as soon as possible together with applications for individual members tickets.

**Hospitality:** Will all those living within the Metropolitan Police Area and who are willing to offer hospitality to delegates from the provinces, let me have their names and addresses together with the type of hospitality available (i.e., number of beds, single or double and whether for Saturday and/or Sunday night).

# What the Groups Are Doing

**BIRMINGHAM Peace News Committee** held its annual meeting and conversation on March 7. After the annual report, presented by Wilfrid Burt, had been adopted, reports from many local Groups were given.

The Six Weeks' Peace Activity campaign, undertaken by the Birmingham PPU Council, is creating a big impression. Meetings, held three times weekly in Birmingham Bull Ring, have attracted large crowds. Poster parades are being held at week-ends, *Peace News* is being sold, and, on Saturday, March 9, all the Birmingham Labour Exchanges were picketed.

John Robinson has been appointed Assistant Secretary to the Birmingham Council and he is in attendance at "Dick Sheppard House" from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. daily. A telephone has been installed at "Dick Sheppard House." The number is Midland 4974.

Walsall group, although they are having difficulty in finding a meeting place, is still progressing. They get an average attendance of 40 at group meetings.

John Barclay spent five days in Birmingham recently and addressed meetings in various parts of the City.

### Expansion in Glasgow Region

An open-air meeting is held in the centre of Glasgow every Saturday afternoon, while at the same time poster-parades and *Peace News* sellers combine to make their presence known.

Riddrie group is running a series of fortnightly indoor meetings, in the Ruskin Hall, on Sunday afternoons. Such speakers as Sir Hugh Robertson and Prof. G. H. McGregor have received a sympathetic hearing.

Knightswood group recently held an indoor meeting in co-operation with the No Conscription League. The speakers were Mr. Oliver Brown and Mr. Tom Taylor.

Several new groups have been formed in the Region and there are now thirty-three

### Apathy in Littlehampton

ONLY 30 people could be stirred to attend a Littlehampton meeting addressed by Basil Pampling. His sympathetic reception, however, demonstrated that it was apathy rather than hostility that has most to be overcome in the district.

### Newton Abbot Changes Quarters

IN order to conserve their finances and to utilize them for propaganda purposes the Newton Abbot group has decided to give up the tenancy of the local Dick Sheppard Centre on March 31. All letters after that date should be addressed to 169 Broadlands Avenue, Newton Abbot.

### Leeds Monthly Meeting

ABOUT eighty members were present at the monthly meeting of the Leeds central group on March 1.

Reports on the activities of the groups now established in all suburbs of Leeds showed that most were functioning well and were planning fresh developments.

An appeal was made for co-operation in the work of the International Voluntary Service for Peace, the headquarters of which are at 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds.

An address on "Federal Union" was given by Rex Pogson, district organizer for Federal Union.

### West Midlands Conference

**WOLVERHAMPTON, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Stoke, Stourbridge, Brierley Hill, Dudley, Tipton and Bilston** groups were all represented at a West Midlands Conference last month addressed by Captain H. Hilditch.

Mr. T. B. Pitfield, of Wolverhampton, read a paper on "Pacifism and Patriotism," then Mr. Hilditch concluded with a review of West Midlands organization and plans for the future.

### Laurence Housman at Cardiff

**LAURENCE HOUSMAN** addressed a Cardiff meeting last Saturday organized by the local PPU group and supported by other pacifist movements. Other speakers were George Llewellyn Davis and Richard Bishop, with the Rev. Ceulaydd Jones in the chair.

The branch holds meetings every Tuesday evening in the Friends' Meeting House, and any friends visiting Cardiff are invited to these meetings.

### S.E. London Meetings

**THE South-East London Region** has now been re-organized, and includes the following groups:—Anerley, Bermondsey, Blackheath, Dulwich, Eltham, Forest Hill, Greenwich, Lewisham, New Cross and Peckham. Group and Regional frontiers are being drawn, minority

## Comments on the Tribunals

TWO of the 62 conscientious objectors appearing before the Midland tribunal in Birmingham on March 11 and 12 were given unconditional exemption—granted by this tribunal to very few cases.

The men concerned had a record of energetic spare-time service for several years, one in the local YMCA, where he had been secretary of the Peace Pledge Union group, the other mainly as a worker for peace in the PPU.

### Change Tribunal Members?

SHOULD changes be made from time to time in the personnel of tribunals?

An Edinburgh correspondent, Jack Gibson who thinks that few changes would be of more assistance to CO's than this, writes:

"Those of us who make a practice of attending the same CO tribunal at sitting after sitting have acquired the habit of forecasting decisions. The astonishing accuracy of these forecasts raises a point of considerable importance.

"It indicates that tribunals are now operating along lines becoming more and more rigid. Such operation to rule, as it were, is probably quite unconscious. Even members of tribunals are human and no human mind can listen over and over again to the same pleas and same arguments without setting up a kind of defence mechanism."

Owing to the demands made in our space by news and articles of interest to the general public and to the pacifist movement we can no longer publish dates and places at which the local tribunals will be in session. Those requiring this information are advised to inquire at their local advisory bureau for COs.

## A TONIC!

**Late News:** As we go to press John Barclay telephones to say that he has received a donation of £100 in response to his statement in *Peace News* a fortnight ago that "One gift of £100 is a tonic and goes so much further than good wishes." He is very grateful for the gift, and is now thinking of the tonic that would be afforded by nine others, to bring it up to £1,000!

problems discussed, and it is possible that several new semi-autonomous groups will be brought into being.

A public meeting has been arranged for Sunday, March 31, at 3 p.m., in the Main Co-op Hall, Peckham. Speakers will be Reginald Sorensen, John McNair (ILP) and Robert King (PPU). Chairman: B. N. Langdon-Davies. The title of the meeting is "Peace Now!"

It is proposed to hold regular large public meetings in various parts of the Region, and also to arrange a rota of speakers for outdoor meetings. All group fixtures and events will be reported to the Regional Committee as far in advance as possible, in order to obtain maximum co-operation and benefit from pooling of ideas.

### Ipswich Activities

SINCE the outbreak of the war the Ipswich group has been very active, under chairmanship of the Rev. J. C. G. Bruton.

Weekly meetings have been held in the Friends' Meeting House, Fennelau Road, where practical fellowship has been given to Conscientious Objectors by legal advice. Powers of expression are assisted by Mock Tribunals, and valuable discussions have arisen from Mr. R. R. Stokes' Peace Proposals.

Varied aspects of a constructive social nature such as Pacifist Communities, Refugees, CO's Emergency Fund, and selling of *Peace News* come under the group's activities.

On January 27, Dr. Salter addressed a very sympathetic public meeting in the large Co-op hall, under chairmanship of Miss Ruth Fry.

On March 7, there was a large attendance again in the large Co-op hall, where the PPU had organized a special meeting in support of Women's Peace Campaign. The hon. secretary, Councillor Mr. Whitmore, was in the chair, and introduced the speakers: Miss Nancy Gamble and Mr. Middleton Murry.

The following Resolution was passed by a big majority:—

"This meeting appeals to the Government to declare its willingness to negotiate a just peace now, and to give sympathetic consideration to any proposals for a basis of negotiation which neutral states choose to sponsor."

Member are planning the best methods of distributing leaflets of the PPU and Mr. Stokes, MP. Already several thousands have been distributed outside churches.

All interested are invited to group meetings in the Friends' Meeting House on Tuesdays at 7.30 p.m., or communicate with the hon. secretary, Mrs. Whitmore, 14 Weymouth Road, Ipswich.

### Pacifist Campaign in Oldbury

**THE Oldbury group** is at present conducting a stop the war campaign and a special plan of campaign has been drawn up which includes: picketing every church in the area on a definite Sunday with an appropriate leaflet; suitable letters to ministers and local preachers; picketing of cinemas; an appeal for support to every progressive organization; house-to-house visitation with leaflets; a series of meetings with the definite object "Stop the War Now!"; while a special effort is being made to get a canvass or vote of the citizens on the question "Are you in favour of ending the war now and a negotiated peace?"



## A NEW PUBLICITY SCHEME

Copies of "Peace News" ordered last week:  
36,613 (450 remained on Tuesday).  
Last week's donations to "Peace News" Fund:  
£9 3s. 5½d.  
Total of "Peace News" Fund to date:  
£553 10s. 7½d.

**MEMBERS** of the Fulham group of the Peace Pledge Union have adopted a novel publicity scheme for *Peace News* which may interest other groups. Here it is, described by one of them, Reginald E. Jones:

"Those members whose homes have a room on the ground floor overlooking the street have undertaken to display week-by-week the contents bill of *Peace News*, with the words 'Obtainable within' underneath. A member displaying the bill will buy one or two extra copies of the paper each week in case it should be asked for."

"Every purchaser of the paper would be asked if a copy of the paper may be reserved for him in future. A similar request would be made to a prospective purchaser calling when the stock-in-hand was exhausted."

"By this means it is hoped that an increased circulation may slowly be built up. I do not expect results from this display until the posters have been on view, for say, six months. The public would, however, grow used to seeing the contents-bill in the same place regularly every week, and when this fact has been assimilated, a few sales might be made."

And we would add that many people may be led in this way to order *Peace News* from their newsgagents.

(The *Peace News* fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy paid to *Peace News*. Though the paper is now self-supporting, the debt for the subsidy paid over several months remains, and we would therefore welcome donations of any size to enable us to pay it off as soon as possible. Individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to *Peace News, Ltd.*, and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

## PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing and Advertisement Offices:  
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.  
Telephone: Stamford Hill 6157.  
Subscription Rates, home and abroad:  
Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implicit therein or PPU connexion with the matter advertised.) Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

Please hand this to your  
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"PEACE NEWS" is published weekly as a National Newspaper at the retail price of 2d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

CUT OUT FOR RETURNS  
No. 197 22.3.40

## YOUTH AGAINST WAR

### "Refuse War U.S. POLLS Service" REVEAL OPPOSITION

CALL TO N.Z.  
CHURCHES

**YOUNG** New Zealanders have called upon members of the Churches to refuse to take part in war and have condemned conscription.

The following resolution was carried, by 44 votes to three, at the annual convention of the NZ Methodist Young Men's Bible Class movement: "This convention recommends its members and all members of the Christian Church who believe that all war, including the one in which our nation is at present engaged, is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ, and that the way of the Cross is the only method of conquering evil; also to follow that way unswervingly, refusing enlistment, preparations for war and all non-combatant service under military control."

On the subject of compulsory military service a motion was carried, by 38 votes to eleven, declaring "conscription of human life for war purposes" to be "an unwarrantable interference with the liberty and conscience of the citizen," and urging the Government to "stand firm in its refusal to legislate for compulsory military service."

The conference of the North New Zealand Seventh Day Adventists also discussed the question of war service.

It adopted a resolution declaring that "as loyal citizens we will conform to all the requirements of the Government which do not conflict with the law of God; that is, we will perform any non-combatant service which our conscientious convictions will allow." The resolution went on to reaffirm the principle that individual members should be free to follow their own consciences in such matters.

### Exemption for Pacifist Journalist

Mr. J. R. Hinde, 22-year-old sub-editor on the staff of *Peace News*, was registered unconditionally as a conscientious objector by the South-Eastern tribunal sitting in Bloomsbury County Court on Tuesday.

Mr. Hinde, a member of the Society of Friends, is the first member of the *Peace News* staff to appear before a tribunal.

## WHY NOT A BRITISH PEACE MOVE?

(continued from p. 1)

thing that is needed to defeat it is a surer foundation of real moral purpose (which we already claim) and a relentlessness not usually associated with forces for good.

The one step without the other—a mere truce without a plan for a co-operative world order that will enable us to hold the initiative—would probably be fatal. It would indeed be the "pause to gather fresh forces for their work of destroying the British and French Empires" which the Diplomatic Correspondent of *The Times* says is "the view of the war" and of the diplomatic phase through which it is still passing "which our envoys abroad are giving to inquiring neutrals."

But if the destroying of some empires by others is one thing, and a mere deepening of a tragedy that will continue, the voluntary destruction of imperialism as a deliberate and conscious act is an entirely other and more hopeful thing.

### "KEEP FREE SPEECH"

"I do not seek, however long the conflict may last, a muzzled Opposition. Our institutions, Parliament, all liberal thought, free speech, free criticism, must go on. It would be a tragedy if we found that we had fought for freedom and free belief, and the value of every individual soul, and won the war but lost the things we were fighting for."

—The Prime Minister of Australia, introducing the National Security Bill in the House of Representatives on September 6, 1939.

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors and its Work' is the title of a leaflet just published by the Board. (Address: 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.)

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST POLITICAL MOVEMENT  
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RECENT polls indicate that a large body of American youth would be conscientious objectors in a war.

Thirty-six out of every hundred Catholic college students would object to conscription, according to a poll conducted by the Catholic weekly, *America*. The poll covered 54,000 students in 141 Catholic colleges. A total of 18,000 said they would resist. More than 75 percent of those polled were in favour of a proposal for a nation-wide referendum before the USA could enter a war.

A recent poll at the college of the City of New York indicated that more than half the students would be COs in the event of a war on foreign soil. Thirteen percent would object to war on American soil.

An earlier poll by the magazine *Fortune* indicated that one-sixth of the general public in the USA would resist service in the event of their country being attacked.

Also significant is the fact that the first issue of *The Conscientious Objector*, which is published bi-monthly by various American pacifist groups, had such an enthusiastic reception that the publishers increased the printing order for the second issue by fifty percent. Already the paper has proved a medium for drawing together several pacifist organizations. (Editorial office: Room 314, 2 Stone Street, New York.)

### An Important Bit of Peace Service

The greatest need for peace service lies in the realm of thought.

Here are some unanswered questions: Why is it that the public mind continually returns to the false analogy of the policeman and the soldier, to the ambiguities in the word "force" and to misinterpretations of passages like that of the question of the cleansing of the Temple?

Or what is the answer to those who say that the only argument Hitler can understand is a thick stick?

Or what exactly is the British pacifist to propose for Poland in a possible set of peace terms?

Or how can the necessary scheme of economic reconstruction for Europe be so presented now as to draw the belligerents away from war to the council table?

The most important bit of peace service that we could render just now would be to enable our neighbours to think clearly on these points.

—From a leaflet by Percy W. Bartlett, issued by the Council of Christian Pacifists' Groups, 16 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1. (Price 1d.; 2s. 6d. a 100.)

### Understanding the Germans

The Friends' Peace Committee has just published a pamphlet by J. Roger Carter entitled *On Understanding Germans*. Mr. Carter was once the representative in Berlin of the Friends' Service Council.

Copies are obtainable (price 2d. each) from the Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, or from the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2.

### A COMMUNITY BROADSHEET

In response to a number of requests for a current news sheet of community activities the first number of *The Community Broadsheet* has just been published. It is edited on behalf of the Community Service Committee by G. M. Faulding, 22 Westbourne Terrace Road, London, W.2.

Copies are obtainable from the hon. sec., Community Service Committee, Chancton Darnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey, and a minimum of 2d. per copy (postage 1d.) is being asked for.

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## WHAT HOPES?

Mr. Asquith at the Guildhall, London, in 1914:

"We shall not sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn until Belgium has recovered in full measure all and more than she has sacrificed; until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression; until the rights of the smaller nations of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation; and until the military might of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed."

Mr. Chamberlain in Birmingham, 1940:

"We are fighting to secure that the small nations of Europe shall henceforth live in security. First of all, the independence of the Poles and the Czechs must be restored. Secondly, we must have tangible evidence to satisfy us that pledges or assurances when they are given will be fulfilled. Under the present Government of Germany there can be no security for the future."

Peace Aims of Mr. Lloyd George, Premier in 1919: "We want a peace that will be just but not vindictive."

What assurance have we that the aims of the British Government will be more permanently achieved by means of this war than they were last time? And what hope is there that the "peace" drawn up at the end of another long war will be any more just or less vindictive than was the Versailles Treaty?

### Haunted by Echoes

"Very many people not pacifists, are profoundly perplexed. They accept the fact of the war, they do their duty by the war, but they remain baffled, deeply uneasy, often without being able to put their bewilderment into words."

"The fault is not theirs. It is not their fault that the words 'We are fighting to end Hitlerism' make an echo—'We are fighting to end Kaiserism'—and that with the echo comes the hollow feeling of standing in a place of echoes. The labour of a Churchill to roar loud enough to drown it is wasted."

"You cannot silence an echo by shouting. Every young man leaving his house in new khaki uniform, is accompanied by one or two of three dead young men in khaki, and it is in fact their presence, their constant mute 'What again?' which gives this sense of emptiness of questions unanswered."

"As the war goes on this feeling will spread and strengthen. There are ways of dealing with it. One is to go on talking with blithe Fourie Form cheerfulness about destroying Hitlerism. Another is the Churchill way of calling up contempt and hatred of the enemy. Both are the worse for wear, and the second corrupt."—Storm Jameson in the *Fortnightly Review*.

### Why a Councillor Resigned

"After twenty-seven years' association with the Labour Party, I feel the time has come for me to dissociate myself with its war policy." So wrote Councillor J. C. Dempsey, of Rothwell, Northants, in a letter of resignation from the Labour Party published last week.

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